

La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. Actes des journées d'études de Göttingen (25–26 juin 2009), eds. Philippe Josserand, Mathieu Olivier (*Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter*, Bd. 51), Berlin 2012 / *Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter. Beiträge der Göttinger Tagung (25.–26. Juni 2009)*, hrsg. v. Philippe Josserand, Mathieu Olivier, (*Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter*, Bd. 51), Berlin 2012, 282 + IV pp., ISBN 978-3-643-12008-3.

The publication is a collection of papers presented at the conference organised in Göttingen on 25 and 26 June 2009. It consists of fourteen articles divided into three thematic blocks. The first one is entitled “Mémoire des origines dans les sociétés médiévales – Éléments généraux” and includes three articles. Véronique Lamazou-Duplan analyses the texts which are connected with the theme of the origin of towns from the end of the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the early modern period (“Écritures des mémoires urbaines des origines. Quelques remarques (second Moyen Âge – premier XVI^e siècle)”). She discusses various types of narration in burghers’ chronicles describing the origin of towns. These occasionally include biblical motifs, in the context of towns which were believed to have originated in the biblical times, while other narrations refer to the origin of towns in the Antique period as well as the Middle Ages. The study demonstrates how different types of sources emphasize different aspects of the origin stories of the towns they describe; for example only some of the texts mention the founder of the town. Another article by Florent Cygler, “Le discours sur les origines dans les ordres religieux au Moyen Âge: brèves observations liminaires” considers the role and importance of the “memory of the origins” in medieval monasteries. The discussion is presented within the theoretical framework of modern philosophical trends. The final paper, “Entwicklung des historischen Selbstverständnisses in den geistlichen Ritterorden” by Jürgen Sarnowsky focuses on written evidence concerning the origins of medieval military orders including the Templar knights, the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order. The origin stories of the orders are compared and the author discusses the similarities and differences between them.

The second part of the publication, entitled “Récits des commencements, récits des origines” starts with a paper by Antoine Calvet, entitled “Les légendes de l’hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem”, *entre mythe et histoire*. Calvet analyses different sources describing the origins of the Order of St. John. This includes for example legends according to which the Order was established in the biblical times as well as records stating that it was founded following the Latin conquest of Jerusalem. The form of narration as well as its content is shown as evidence

of changes within the Order of Saint John that reflects the various stages of its transformation throughout the medieval period. The author argues for example that the structure of the legend described in *Exordium Hospitalis*, compiled by Guillaume de Saint-Estène, resembles the structure of the Latin *Tractatus Josephi*.

The second paper, by Alain Demurger, entitled “Étourdis ou petits malins? Pourquoi les templiers n’ont-ils pas eu de mythe d’origine?” investigates why the Templars did not promote any foundation myth of their own military order. The three main sources describing the history of the Order of the Knights Templar; that is their monastic rules and the chronicles of William of Tyre and Ernoul, do not include legends related to the origins of the Templars. Instead, sources refer to the aims of the Order’s establishment and its devotion to Virgin Mary, the saints and the welfare of the Church. Demurger notices that Templar knights did not perceive the moment of their Order’s establishment in the same way as other military orders. One of the reasons for this, according to him, was that the early history of the Templar Order was dominated by Bernard of Clairvaux who was occasionally perceived not only as the Order’s protector but also as its founder. Consequently, the knights could regard their Order as being strongly associated with the Cistercian Order. Another difficulty which may have prevented the development of a foundation myth regarding the origin of the Templar knights was that the Order’s role was predominantly military in nature and was not based on any pre-existing models. As such, members of the Order could not claim continuity with any ancient monastic institution in a manner similar to the Hospitallers.

The third paper in this section, written by Jarosław Wenta and entitled “Die Berichte über die Gründung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner preußischen Provinz”, focuses on the origins of the Teutonic Order. The author analyses the relevant sources in comparison with texts describing the foundation of other monastic institutions. The study begins with the analysis of *Narratio de primordiis Ordinis Theutonici* which includes a description of the origins of the Teutonic Order and which, according to the author’s analysis, was written between 1198 and 1216. Next, Wenta analyses the *Prologue* which includes the story of the beginnings of the Order in the years from 1190 to 1198. The author also analyses the chronicle of Peter of Duisburg and argues that the text is partially based on another source which describes the establishment of the Order and the beginnings of its Prussian province. The source mentioned in this context as the text recounting the origins of the Order in Prussia is *Translatio S. Barbarae*. Wenta also argues that hints suggesting the existence of a different source which described the origins of the Teutonic Order’s presence in Prussia can be found in *Exordium ordinis cruciferorum* which is preserved in the Cistercian chronicle of Oliwa. Lastly, *Kronika 11 lat* is described as essential for other sources written in the last quarter of the

13th century although the study also suggests that it is likely that there existed another source that served as a model for the discussed documents

Another author who focuses on Teutonic sources is Udo Arnold. His article “Die *Narratio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici*. Der offizielle Blick des Deutschen Ordens auf seine Anfänge” focuses solely on the *Narratio de primordiis Ordinis Theutonici* as it is considered the most important source referring to the origins of the Teutonic Order. The study synthesizes the previous discussions relating to the time of its creation and looks for the traces of its reception. Arnold suggests that the earliest such trace can be found in the Prologue to the monastic rule of the Teutonic Order which indicates that ‘Narratio’ was not created until 1252. Thus, it is also argued that the writing of the text coincided with the period from 1240s to 1270s when a number of important Teutonic sources were written as the Order sought to define its own identity and self-perception

The next article, entitled “L’ordre de Santiago face au récit de ses origines au tournant du Moyen Âge et de l’Époque moderne: Variations sur l’espace et le temps” and written by Philippe Josserand, investigates the late-medieval and Renaissance sources, including chronicles, describing the origins of the Order of St. James of Compostella. The author notices that the story of the order’s foundation differs on the source with one Renaissance chronicle stating that it was founded in the ninth century. Among the sources discussed in the article are the texts of Diego Rodríguez de Almela, who described the beginnings of the Order of Santiago in such works as *El Tratado de la Guerra*.

The final part of the publication is titled “Par-delà l’historiographie: formes, usages et contextes de la mémoire des origines”. It starts with an article by Damien Carraz entitled “Aux origines de la commanderie de Manosque. Le dossier des comtes de Forcalquier dans les Archives de l’Hôpital (début XII^e – milieu XIII^e siècle)”. Carraz discusses a selection of sources concerning the origins of the Order of St. John in relation to the politics of medieval Provence and of the attempts Forcalquier family to strengthen its position in the region. Among the identified influences of the Forcalquier family is the fact that the Hospitaller Order was set up in Manosque and generously provided with donations and gifts. The Order was continuously supported by four generations of the family. Its heirlooms and written testimonies of Forcalquiers’ involvement in the Order’s affairs survive in the Hospitaller archives and include for example dedications of prayer services. The author also examines the chancery books with copies of documents from the years 1206–1211 and the archive of the hospital in Manosque. His study focuses primarily an investigation how the memory of the Order’s origins is represented in these documents. The text also includes two annexes which present to the reader the genealogical tree of the earls of the Forcalquier family née d’Urgell, the map of

Provence in 1209, the inventory of the documents of the hospital relevant for this study and the list of documents of the Forcalquier earls in the chancery books of the monasteries of Saint-Gilles and Manosque.

The next article, by Thomas Krämer, is entitled “Der Weg zur Exemption des Deutschen Ordens im Kontext der Erinnerung an seine Ursprünge” and investigates the papal privileges granted to the Teutonic Order. Krämer emphasises the reserved attitude of Pope Innocent III to the Teutonic Order and the fact that the knights received substantial privileges from Pope Honorius III, particularly the privilege from 1221 that was related with the coronation of Emperor Frederic II. The analysed privileges show similarities to the ones granted to the Hospitaller Order of St. John and the Knights Templar and reflect the increasing independence of the Order from the jurisdiction of local bishops. The Teutonic Order took two decades to obtain the privileges which the two, older military orders acquired over 100 years. According to the author, this success was facilitated by the Teutonic order’s skilful manipulation of the tensions between the Hospitallers and the Templars. The study also stresses that knights of St. John and the Templars played important roles in the history of the origins of the Teutonic Order.

Papal documents referring to the foundation of the Teutonic Order are also discussed in the article by Sylvain Gouguenheim “La bulle Etsi neque d’Honorius III (15 décembre 1220) au cœur du processus de constitution de l’Ordre Teutonique”. The author emphasizes that the process of the Order’s foundation took many years and is reflected in a number of sources. Particularly important in this context is the pontificate of Honorius III and the study focuses on the analysis of the document *Effectum iusta* from 8 December 1216, which, according to the author, shows similarities with in the later “Etsi neque” document from 15 December 1216. The latter is often considered to be the Order’s foundation document and the month after it was signed, from 9 January to the 9 February 1221, is regarded as the period when the foundation was finalized (which in turn resulted in the issuing of further documents). The results of Gouguenheim’s analysis therefore, emphasize the importance of *Etsi neque* document for the later history of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and for the memory of the Order’s origins.

The following paper, entitled “Indulgentia und Historia. Die Bedeutung des Ablasses für die spätmittelalterliche Erinnerung an die Ursprünge des Deutschen Ordens und anderer Gemeinschaften” and written by Axel Ehlers, differs from the articles discussed above as it focuses not on narrative sources or papal documents but on indulgencies which mention the origins of the religious orders, particularly the Teutonic Order. The first indulgence listed in Ehlers’ study comes from 1221, but the origins of the Order are not mentioned in it. The paper focuses therefore on one of the registers of indulgences known from the copy made in Trier at the

turn of 1371/72, which mentions that the Order was supported by Pope Celestine III (1191–1198). Ehlers admits that registers of indulgencies related to the Teutonic knights occasionally include incorrect information and that the reference to Pope Celestine is not very precise but he also notices that it correlates with what is known about the historiographical tradition of the Teutonic Order. It is therefore likely, the argument goes, that papal indulgencies included elements that were part of the Order's own historiographical tradition which had wide ranging implications as the register of Trier was distributed in other houses of the Teutonic Order. Another collection of indulgences, composed in Marienburg (Malbork) around the year 1400 stresses the role of the Teutonic Order in the struggle against its pagan foes. Papal indulgences are shown as playing important role, supporting the Order's military endeavors in the Baltic and reflecting its achievements. Their importance is also marked by the fact that indulgencies are mentioned by Teutonic Prussian chronicles describing the conquest of Prussia and its forced Christianization. The study also demonstrates the importance of the relation between historical memory and indulgences by the analysis of indulgence registers in relation to the older chronicle of grand masters and the younger chronicle of grand masters as well as few manuscripts from about 1500. One of the advantages of analysing registers of indulgencies is that they are arranged according to the order of popes that granted them which allows them to be used as a type of chronicle. As such, they can be easily used to compare how indulgences were obtained by different religious orders. Ehlers demonstrates for instance how the Teutonic Order was granted the same indulgence privileges that were previously presented to the older military orders of St. John and the Knights Templar some of the indulgence privileges were granted to the Teutonic Order following the example of the Hospitaller Order of St. John and the Knights Templar.

The final article, entitled "*Von jeher Fredeschilt der Christenheit. Rückgriffe auf die eigenen Ursprünge im auswärtigen Schriftverkehr des Deutschen Ordens in Krisenzeiten*" and written by Annika Souhr, examines the correspondence of the Teutonic Order from the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century. Letters analyzed in the study were often used as propaganda in the Order's conflicts with Polish-Lithuanian alliance and as such, include references to the earliest period of the existence of the Teutonic Order. Souhr examines three sets of letters; the correspondence from around 1400 which records the Teutonic reaction to the union between Poland and Lithuanian, the correspondence related to the great war of 1409–1410, and the letters written in the context of conflicts between the Teutonic Order and the Prussian Federation. The first set of texts contains frequent references to the Order's relation with the Holy Roman Empire and the responsibility of the whole Christian world. The same theme is repeated

in the context of war with Poland and Lithuania during which the Teutonic Order is presented as the shield of Christianity and its location on the frontiers of the Christian world is emphasized. The Order's struggle is described as a continuation of the war with pagans that was started by the Teutonic knights in the 13th Century. In the face of the opposition from the Prussian Federation, the Order once again attempted to present itself as the defender of Christianity. The study demonstrates how Teutonic knights selected elements of their past to make a better impression on the recipients of their letters. For instance, in the correspondence with the city of Lübeck, the Teutonic Order recalls the merchants from Bremen who are said to have been involved in the establishment of the Order.

The volume ends with a conclusion by Mathieu Olivier entitled "Mémoire commune des origines ou mémoire des origines communes? Quelques remarques finales sur le discours des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge". The text summarises the achievements of the conference and identifies the areas which require further research.

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***Actas do I Colóquio Internacional: Cister, os Templários e a Ordem de Cristo*, eds. José Albuquerque Carreiras, Giulia Rossi Vairo, Instituto Politécnico de Tomar, Tomar 2012, 341 pp., ISBN 978-972-9473-59-3.**

Knights Templar and other medieval military orders considered the Cistercian tradition to be the basis of their spirituality. The Templar and Cistercian communities shared a number of characteristics and links that were expressed in various aspects of their activities throughout the period of their existence. The nature of their relation was the main subject of the conference held at the turn of September and October 2011 in Tomar – the headquarters of the Portuguese Knights Templar and later, the Order of Christ. The meeting coincided with the 700th anniversary of the rule of Denis of Portugal (1279–1325) and most of the presented papers focused on the period of his rule during which the Order of Knights Templar was dissolved and the Order of Christ was established in its place. The speakers recalled some of the most important research problems concerning the relationship between the Cistercians and the military orders and discussed their various aspects in the context of the Kingdom of Portugal. The presented studies included researches from the fields of history, archeology and history of art. The conference resulted in the publication of a collected papers volume presenting articles written in a broad range of languages including Portuguese, Spanish, French and Italian.